

Father's Labor Migration and Leaving the Parental Home in Rural Mozambique

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Abstract

Migration across and within national boundaries is an increasingly important demographic phenomenon, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, and one with important implications for family wellbeing. While extensive research has examined the impact of parental labor migration on school-age children, little is known about its effect on adolescent transitions to adult roles. This paper uses longitudinal survey data collected in rural southern Mozambique to assess the association between father's migration and leaving the parental home, an important transition that is linked to other events including schooling, marriage, and labor migration. We measure both the duration of migration and economic success of current migration, and also take into account the nature and timing of past migration. Preliminary results reveal that non-migrant households are more likely than migrant households to experience adolescents moving out between survey waves. We also find that adolescents living in non-migrant households are more likely to leave the parental household.

Introduction

Adolescence is a “demographically dense” (Rindfuss 1991) stage of the life course – a stage where individuals may enter and exit school, begin working for pay, take on new domestic responsibilities, form sexual and romantic relationships, marry or cohabit, leave the parental home, and have their own children. The timing, sequencing, and context of these transitions into adult roles set the stage for adult lives and the degree to which they are healthy, productive, and fulfilling (NRC-IOM 2005; UNICEF 2011). In most contexts – particularly those without well-developed public institutions – family is the primary source of social, practical, and financial resources for taking on adult roles (Brown and Larson 2002; Steinberg 2001). Therefore, family processes are central to understanding variation in transitions to adulthood.

Migration across and within national boundaries is an increasingly important demographic phenomenon, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, and one with important implications for family wellbeing (United Nations 2011; World Bank 2013a). For left-behind families of migrant workers, remittances can transform economic conditions, and spouses and children may take on new roles and responsibilities in the migrant’s absence. Labor migration by adult family members can thus be a substantial influence on the social, economic, and health conditions in which children are raised. Although extensive research has examined how these conditions impact child well-being (Antai et al. 2010; Kiros and White 2004; Yabiku, Agadjanian and Cau 2012), little is known about how family migration history shapes adolescents’ transitions to adult roles.

In this paper, we use rich longitudinal survey data collected from rural households in Gaza Province in southern Mozambique, an area characterized by high rates of male labor migration, mainly to South Africa, to assess the association between father’s labor migration and

adolescents' transitions to adulthood. Our analyses focus on one of the key transitions to adulthood, leaving the parental home. We measure both the duration of migration and economic success of current migration, and take into account the nature and timing of past migration as well. In addition, because adult roles are highly gender differentiated in this context, we consider differences in the impact of migration on boys and girls. In this extended abstract, we provide descriptive statistics illustrating the bivariate association between father's migration and leaving the parental home. The completed paper will use multivariate logistic regression to predict adolescent residential transitions across two waves of survey data.

Setting and Outcomes

Data for this study were collected in rural areas of Gaza Province in southern Mozambique. (Further details are provided in the data section below.) Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony, is located in southeast Africa. After nearly two decades of brutal war, terminated by peace accords in 1992, Mozambique experienced rapid economic growth. Despite this growth, the country continues to be one of the poorest and least developed in the world (World Bank 2013b). The study area is characterized by subsistence agriculture, with limited opportunities for formal sector employment. Gaza Province frequently experiences both droughts and floods, and agricultural production is therefore unstable and unpredictable. Due to the precarious nature of local agriculture, as well as the shared border with South Africa, rates of male labor migration to South Africa have historically been high (de Vletter 2007). In recent years, migrant labor has increasingly shifted from formal employment, largely in South Africa's mining sector, toward the informal labor force (Crush and Frayne 2010; Crush, Jeeves, and Yudelman 1991; de Vletter 2007). As a result, the economic outcomes of labor migration are increasingly unpredictable, unstable, and heterogeneous.

Largely thanks to labor migration and the remittances it generates, Gaza Province is a relatively well-developed part of Mozambique. Primary school enrollment rates in the study setting are high: data from the survey used in this paper indicate that 90% of boys and 97% of girls aged 9-12 (primary school age) were enrolled in school in 2011. However, relatively few rural adolescents enroll in secondary school, in part because the supply of secondary schools in rural areas is limited and enrollment often requires moving to a town or to a larger rural community. In addition, although there are no school fees in the study setting, there are nonetheless costs associated with enrollment, such as buying school uniforms and school supplies as well as informal contributions that parents are expected to make in money, kind, or labor. Households with children enrolled in school also lose domestic and agricultural labor that children could provide. By age 16, the typical age for secondary school enrollment, only 55% of boys and 45% of girls were still enrolled.

Marriage occurs at relatively young ages in this setting. According to the 2011 Demographic and Health Survey, 70% of women and 27% of men aged 20-24 were married by age 20 (Ministry of Health, National Institute of Statistics, and ICF International 2011). In Gaza Province, marriage has historically been patrilineal, patrilocal, and bridewealth-based. That is, women typically move to their husband's compound or village after marriage, and children are considered to belong to the husband's family; the husband's family makes payments to the wife's family as part of this exchange. As part of this marriage system, the oldest son frequently remains within the parental household on marriage. Consistent with the young ages at marriage, 66% of women aged 20-24 reported having a first birth by age 20. Thus, between the ages of 16 and 20, adolescents experience a range of transitions to adult roles, including school-leaving, marriage, and first birth, but the timing and sequencing of these transitions is highly

heterogeneous.

We focus on moving out of the parental home because it is a theoretically important marker of adulthood; it is associated with other key transitions, such as marriage and labor migration; and we predict it will vary according to father's labor migration history. In this setting, it is rare for young people to establish households alone. Instead, leaving the parental household is usually part of another transition, such as marrying, entering secondary school, or labor migration. Because our data collection is household-based, we are not able to fully measure all aspects of transitions associated with residential mobility. However, we identify mechanisms associated with transitions where possible (see data and methods) and speculate on possible differences in transitions. For example, because marriage in this context is typically patrilocal, and mean age at marriage is substantially younger for women than for men, girls leaving the parental household in adolescence are more likely to be leaving to marry than boys leaving at this age.

Father's Migration and Leaving the Parental Home

Father's migration has two primary effects on household resources and structures. First, migration has the potential to increase household resources via remittances. Second, migration reduces the supply of household labor, thus increasing the demand for adolescent labor to substitute for the absent migrant. On average, both of these mechanisms will tend to delay adolescent transitions out of the parental home. Their impact, however, depends on the timing of migration in the child's life course, the family context, and the gender of the adolescent. In addition, in our study context, the outcomes of labor migration are heterogeneous, and migration may not result in increased resources for the sending household. Thus, the association between migration and adolescent outcomes will vary by the economic outcomes of migration.

A primary goal of labor migration is to increase and diversify household resources (Stark 1991). Most studies of the impacts of migration on origin communities focus on the economic returns sent to families as the mechanism that alters family environments and outcomes for children. Remittances may be used to improve housing, spent on consumer goods, or invested in land, livestock, or other domestic production. Studies of the impact of migration on children also find that remittances are frequently invested in children's welfare, including food, healthcare, and schooling (Adams, Cuecuecha and Page 2008; Cortés 2007; Mueller and Shariff 2011; Vogel and Korinek 2012). The impact of migrant remittances on outcomes in adolescence is less well understood. Household investment in adolescent schooling, by increasing the age of school-leaving, may delay leaving home. However, the degree to which remittances are directed toward schooling depends on decisions about the investment of household resources, which vary according to child gender and household structure (e.g., Buchmann 2000; Lloyd and Blanc 1996; Yabiku and Agadjanian 2013). Also, as noted above, adolescents may need to leave home in order to attend secondary school; thus, the relationship between parental migration and home-leaving may be reversed for older adolescents.

In addition to affecting transitions to adulthood by altering experiences in school, migrant remittances may also shape marriage decisions. Migrant remittances may be used for bridewealth payments – in fact, raising money for bridewealth is a major motivation for migration in some settings (e.g., Cordell, Gregory, and Piché 1996; Crush, Jeeves, and Yudelman 1991). Thus, young men may marry earlier in households that receive migrant remittances. For young women, in contrast, remittances will tend to delay marriage. Because the bride's family receives money and resources as part of the marriage exchange, early marriage of daughters is a possible strategy for increasing household resources. Migrant remittances may substitute for bridewealth, reducing

the need for early marriage of daughters.

In addition to the impact of migration on household resources, the absence of a migrant family member may also require rearrangement of responsibilities for family-based work, including domestic labor, agricultural production, and work in family-owned businesses, to compensate for the lost labor of the migrant. This rearrangement may increase the amount of work that adolescents are expected to contribute, slowing moves out of the parental household. Because most household work is gender-segregated, the impact of father's migration will be stronger for boys, who can more effectively replace their father's labor, than for girls.

Hypotheses

Based on the theoretical framework described above, we hypothesize that father's migration will, in most cases, delay home-leaving, but this association may vary depending on the timing of migration, the outcome of migration, and adolescent gender. We propose the following specific hypotheses.

H1: Father's migration will delay home-leaving by increasing the likelihood that adolescents are enrolled in school.

H1a: This association will be stronger for more economically successful migrants than for less successful migrants.

H1b: This association will hold for past migration as well as current migration.

H1c: This association will be stronger for boys than for girls.

H1d: This association may be reversed for older adolescents who must leave home to attend secondary school.

H2: Father's migration will speed up home-leaving for boys by decreasing the age at marriage and delay home-leaving for girls by increasing the age at marriage.

H2a: This association will be stronger for more successful migrants than for less successful migrants.

H2b: This association will hold for past migration as well as current migration.

H2c: This association will be weaker for oldest sons, who may stay in the household on marriage.

H3: Father's migration will delay home-leaving by increasing the demand for adolescents' labor in the household.

H3a: This association will hold regardless of the level of remittances received.

H3b: This association will only hold for current migration.

H3c: This association will be stronger for boys than for girls.

Data and Measures

Data

This study uses data from a longitudinal study of rural ever-married women in four contiguous districts of Gaza Province in southern Mozambique. Begun in 2006, the first survey wave collected data from 1678 married women aged 18-40. In each district, 14 villages were selected with probability proportional to size, and approximately 30 women were interviewed in each village. Households were randomly selected in each village, with stratified sampling to produce equal numbers of women married to migrants and nonmigrants, and eligible women were randomly sampled within households. In June-July 2009, the survey team attempted to relocate and reinterview all women from the original sample, regardless of current marital status or residence. To maximize retention, followup data collection efforts were carried out in October 2009 and in June-July 2010. In all, 1411 women from the original sample (84%) were reinterviewed. A refresher sample was randomly selected to replace women lost to attrition, for a

total sample in 2009 of 1868 women¹. A similar procedure was followed in 2011 to interview a total of 2072 women. Overall, 77% of women from the 2006 sample were relocated and interviewed in the third wave. The present study uses data collected from women in the 2009 and 2011 waves of this longitudinal survey. These survey waves were chosen because detailed information on children living in the household was collected as part of the household rosters.

In Table 1, we present the steps taken to obtain the analytic sample used in this study. We first limit the analytic sample to women who were interviewed and married at the time of the survey. Unmarried women are excluded because only currently married women are asked to provide spousal migration histories. We further restrict the analytic sample to 1416 women who were married to the same spouse in both survey years. Women who experienced a divorce or spousal death between survey waves are excluded because of difficulties in determining whether adolescent children left the household during the inter-survey period. Because these women have changed households themselves (due to the patrilocal nature of marriage as described above), it is not clear whether adolescent children who no longer live with their mother have moved out or not. Lastly, we limit the analytic sample to women who had at least one living adolescent child (ages 12-20) with their current spouse (n=420). In this extended abstract, we define adolescence as age 12-20. The completed paper will explore the impact of extending the age range to older ages to better capture transitions to adulthood that often occur in the late teens and early twenties, including moving out of the household, entering the labor market, and marriage.

The survey collected detailed information on children in two separate sections: fertility history and household roster. In the fertility history, women listed all of their known pregnancies and answered questions about each pregnancy, including the year the pregnancy ended and

¹ Because of the timing of interviews for the refresher sample and followup data collection waves, the total sample size in 2009 was larger than the sample size in 2006 and, similarly, the 2011 sample was larger than the 2009 sample.

whether the pregnancy resulted in a live birth. For pregnancies resulting in a live birth, respondents reported additional information such as sex of child and whether the child is still alive. The women in our analytic sample reported a total of 699 adolescents in the 2009 fertility history (Table 1). This number excludes children who were born before the start of a woman's marriage to her current husband. We exclude these children because of difficulties in determining whether a woman's current husband is the biological father. Household rosters provide additional sociodemographic information on children living with their mother at the time of the survey. In the 2009 and 2011 household rosters, women listed all regular household members and reported information on each member, including his/her sex, age, whether he/she slept in the house last night, number of grades of schooling completed, current school attendance², and whether he/she brings any income to the household. They also reported on their relationship to each household member. We use this information to determine whether a household member is a biological child of the woman and her husband. According to the 2009 household roster, women reported living with 502 adolescent children, 12-20 years (Table 1). In 2011, this number declined to 443 adolescent children, 14-22 years. Because we are interested in studying adolescent transitions out of the household, we focus on the sample of 502 adolescent children reported in the 2009 household roster and analyze residential transitions among this sample.

Dependent Variable

Our primary outcome of interest, moved out of the household, was created using information collected as part of the household rosters. Although the survey collected information on children living in the household in the 2009 and 2011 household rosters, these children were

² This question was not included in the household roster of the 2011 survey. Instead, it was asked as part of a newly added module on children's schooling.

not linked across survey waves. In order to determine whether an adolescent moved out of the household, we follow a computerized algorithm to link children across the 2009 and 2011 survey waves. Specifically, we use the child's age, gender, and birth order to verify that a child listed in 2009 is the same as a child listed in 2011. If a child is listed in 2011, then we code the child as still living in the household. If a child is not listed, then we code the child as having moved out of the household. Because the computerized algorithm relies heavily on women's reports of children's ages, it is possible that some linkages were not created. In the completed paper, we will assess the sensitivity of results to this method of linking children and will consider manually linking adolescents across survey waves.

As noted above, residential transitions are typically associated with other role transitions in this context. Although we do not analyze linked transitions as separate outcomes, our control variables and model structure allow us to tentatively identify linked transitions. For example, associations between father's labor migration and leaving home that are mediated by schooling suggest school-linked transitions, while associations that differ for boys and girls may point to transitions linked to marriage.

Independent Variables

This study examines the association between father's labor migration and adolescent transitions out of the household. We use different conceptualizations of father's labor migration, including current, past, and perceived successful migration, to investigate this relationship. We measure father's current labor migration using women's responses to the following question: "In the past month (last 30 days), did your husband spend all the nights in this community, all the nights outside of this community, or some nights in this community and some nights outside of this community?" If the respondent reported that her husband spent all the nights outside this

community, then we code her husband as a current labor migrant. If the respondent reported that her husband spent none of the nights outside this community or both in and outside this community, then we code him as a current non-migrant. We code this variable using data collected in the 2009 survey wave. We do not use data from the 2011 wave because we are interested in whether father's current labor migration status in 2009 predicts adolescent transitions out of the household between 2009 and 2011.

Our second conceptualization of father's labor migration, past labor migrant, will be captured using data collected in husband's migration histories. For every year they are married to their husband, women were asked the following question: "Since the end of the war in 1992, what has your (current) husband done to support the family and where has he done it? What I would like to know is your husband's main occupation in each of those years." Women who reported that their husbands worked outside of the area of usual residence will be coded as married to a labor migrant in that particular year. We will use this information to create a variable capturing father's past migration during the child's lifetime.

Lastly, we will construct a variable measuring whether father's migration has been successful, as perceived by the wife, for adolescents with migrant fathers in 2009. This variable will be created from responses to the following question: "In your opinion, since your husband went to work there, did the living conditions in your household improve, worsen, or remain the same?" If the woman responds "improved", then we will code the father as a successful migrant. If the woman responds "worsened", "remained the same", or "doesn't know/difficult to say", then we will code the father as an unsuccessful migrant. This definition of migration success has proven relevant to a number of demographic and social outcomes (e.g., Agadjanian, Arnaldo, and Cau 2011; Agadjanian, Yabiku, and Cau 2011; Yabiku, Agadjanian, and Cau 2012)

We will also include a number of control variables that may serve as mechanisms linking father's migration and adolescent transitions out of the household. Based on our theoretical framework, we control for child's age, sex, current school attendance, and educational attainment/grades of schooling completed. We also account for whether the child is the oldest son. In addition, we control for household wealth and the ownership of household assets, including agricultural assets such as livestock. Finally, we control for the availability of secondary schools in the community. All control variables will be measured in 2009.

Proposed Methods

The completed paper will use multivariate logistic regression to investigate whether father's labor migration is associated with moving out of the household between the 2009 and 2011 survey waves. We will build separate models using alternative specifications of father's labor migration, including current, past, and successful migration, depending on the particular hypothesis being tested. We will also test whether the relationship between father's labor migration and transitioning out of the household differs by gender as proposed by H1c, H2, and H3c. We will test this by adding an interaction term between father's labor migration and gender in the each of the models. Similarly, we will estimate interactions between child age and father's labor migration to test H1d. Our independent variables will come from data collected in the 2009 survey wave. Due to the multilevel nature of the data, we will include random intercepts to control for the clustering of children within households and communities (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2008).

Because our analytic sample is defined as adolescents living in the household in 2009, we exclude adolescents who have already moved out of the parental home by that date. By controlling for age in our analysis, we account for one of the major factors associated with

selection into the sample. However, other factors, including parental migration, likely influence adolescent residential transitions prior to 2009 as well as after 2009. The completed paper will assess the impact of this sample selection on results. In addition, we will explore the possibility of estimating two-stage selection models to explicitly analyze the impact of sample selection.

Preliminary Results

We begin our analysis by examining residence patterns of adolescents at the household level. We compared the number of living adolescents reported in the 2009 fertility history to the number listed in the 2009 and 2011 household rosters. If the number listed in the household rosters is less than the number reported in the 2009 fertility history, then this difference is equal to the number of adolescents living outside of the household. In Table 2, we present these findings by father's current labor migration status, as measured in 2009. Approximately 60 percent of households, regardless of father's migration status, have all adolescents living in the household in 2009. Similar proportions of migrant and non-migrant households have only one adolescent child who has moved out of the household. More than double the percentage of non-migrant households compared to migrant households has at least two adolescent children living outside of the household. While these differences are not statistically significant in 2009, they are significant in 2011. We find that a significantly greater proportion of non-migrant households than migrant households have adolescent children living outside of the household. Whereas 60 percent of migrant households have all adolescent children living in the household in 2011, only 44 percent of non-migrant households do.

In comparing whether a household has at least one adolescent living outside, we find that similar proportions of migrant and non-migrant households have at least one adolescent residing outside of the household in 2009. This proportion increases dramatically for non-migrant

households in 2011, where 56 percent of households have at least one adolescent living outside the household. In contrast, only a slight increase is registered for migrant households, rising from 38 percent in 2009 to 40 percent in 2011. Overall, we find that migrant households are more stable than non-migrant households. While 65 percent of migrant households maintained the same number of adolescents living in the household between 2009 and 2011, this is only true for half of all non-migrant households. Close to 30 percent of non-migrant households experienced at least one adolescent move out between survey waves, which is significantly greater than the percentage experienced by migrant households, approximately 21 percent.

In Table 3, we present characteristics of adolescents in our analytic sample by father's current labor migration status. We find that adolescents in our sample are, on average, 14 years of age, with a greater percentage being male, approximately 57 percent. The vast majority of children, regardless of father's migration status, slept in the house last night (as measured at the time of the survey). Although most adolescents are attending school in 2009, this proportion is significantly greater for adolescents with migrant fathers. More than 80 percent of adolescents with migrant fathers are enrolled in school compared to slightly more than two-thirds of adolescents with non-migrant fathers. Surprisingly, we find that the number of grades of schooling completed is similar by father's labor migration status even though a significantly greater proportion of adolescents with migrant fathers are still attending school in 2009. Very little difference is observed in paid employment by father's labor migration status. We also observe that the proportion moving out of the household in the inter-survey period differs by father's labor migration status. While one-third of adolescents in migrant households transitioned out of the household, more than 42 percent of adolescents living in non-migrant households moved out.

Next Steps

Preliminary results reveal that non-migrant households are more likely than migrant households to experience adolescents moving out during the inter-survey period. Individual-level analyses also indicate that adolescents living in non-migrant households are more likely to transition out of the household. These bivariate statistics support our overall hypothesis that father's migration delays adolescent moves out of the parental home. The completed paper will use multivariate logistic regression models to test the mechanisms of this association and assess variation by adolescent gender and migration outcomes and timing. The final paper will also refine the measures and methods as described in the data section above.

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Table 1. Analytic Sample

<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Interviewed & Currently Married in 2009	1700
Interviewed & Currently Married in 2011	1808
Interviewed & Married to Same Spouse in 2009 & 2011	1416
Has at least one living adolescent (12-20 years) in 2009	420
<u>Adolescents</u>	<u>Total</u>
Reported in 2009 Fertility History	699
Reported in 2009 Household Roster (12-20 yrs)	502
Reported in 2011 Household Roster (14-22 yrs)	443

Table 2. Adolescent Residence Patterns by Father's Current Labor Migration Status^a

	<u>Non-</u> <u>Migrant</u>	<u>Migrant</u>	
Number of adolescents living outside of household (2009)			
Zero	57.7	61.7	
One	29.4	32.5	
Two	11.0	5.2	
Three	1.6	0.0	
Four	0.4	0.7	
Number of adolescents living outside of household (2011)			**
Zero	44.4	59.7	
One	36.4	27.9	
Two	15.6	9.7	
Three	3.6	1.3	
Four	0.0	1.3	
At least one adolescent living outside household (2009)	42.4	38.3	
At least one adolescent living outside household (2011)	55.6	40.3	**
Change in number of adolescents living in household (2009-2011)			*
Declined	29.0	21.5	
Stable	52.3	65.2	
Increased	18.7	13.3	
Total Number of Households	262	158	

** Significant at $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

^a Father's current labor migration status is measured in 2009.

Table 3. Characteristics of Adolescents by Father's Current Labor Migration Status^a

	<u>Non-migrant</u>	<u>Migrant</u>	
Mean age (years)	14.5	14.3	
Male child (%)	57.3	56.7	
Slept in house last night (%)	91.9	93.3	
Attending school (%)	69.6	83.9	***
Grades of schooling completed	5.3	5.7	
Paid employment	12.7	8.9	
Moved out between 2009-2011	42.6	34.4	+
Total	416	226	

Note: All variables measured in 2009 except “moved out between 2009-2011”.

*** Significant at $p < 0.001$; + $p < 0.10$.

^a Father's current labor migration status is measured in 2009.